Meaningful Designs : Orchestrating the Immigrant and Ethnic Landscape

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Nancy C. Carnevale (2009). *A New Language, A New World: Italian Immigrants in the United States, 1890-1945*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. xx + 243 pp., illustrations, notes, index, $45.00 (cloth).

Esther Romeyn (2008). *Street Scenes: Staging the Self in Immigrant New York, 1880-1924*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. xxxi + 273 pp., illustrations, notes, index, $25.00 (paperback).

Jordan Stanger-Ross (2009). *Staying Italian: Urban Change and Ethnic Life in Postwar Toronto and Philadelphia*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. xiv + 190 pp., charts, maps, illustrations, notes, index, $35.00 (cloth).

Aristide R. Zolberg (2006). *A Nation by Design: Immigration Policy in the Fashioning of America*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation with Harvard University Press. viii + 658 pp., charts, notes, index, $48.50 (cloth).

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According to Human Rights First, an immigrant and refugee advocacy group based in Washington and New York, the Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) agency currently spends $2 billion annually to detain approximately 400,000 persons it claims are in the United States illegally, roughly $122 per person daily. Advocacy groups criticize ICE for denying undocumented migrants due process. Under administrative law, ICE has held immigrant detainees without specific charges or timely hearings, in remote, overcrowded, and dangerous locations beyond the access of their communities and the legal assistance necessary to make a claim for asylum or to contest the legality of their pending deportation. ICE and President Obama's administration have reneged on promises to develop an "alternate-to-detention" or ATD plan, which advocates estimate would cost the government only $8.88 per person daily, vastly less than what taxpayers currently fund.[1] Since much of today's anti-immigrant rhetoric is based on the (sharply contested) assumption that "illegals" unfairly benefit from various social programs and entitlements, immigrant advocates have crafted an argument that is seemingly designed to woo conservatives and libertarians concerned with what they believe is excessive government spending. A possible rallying cry: the violation of human rights can be quite inefficient!

Aristide Zolberg likely embraces the pragmatism that such strategies demonstrate. As he rightly notes, one of the more fascinating aspects of immigration politics in the United States are the "strange bedfellows" that debates about how to best govern the entry of newcomers have created. *A Nation by Design* provides both a comprehensive examination of the different interests and influences that have guided the United States' immigration policy from the colonial era to the present, and, at poignant moments, a more philosophical account of what an ethical immigration policy might look like. Zolberg repeatedly lashes out against severe measures used to control migration across and within American borders, and demonstrates that Western democracies

engage liberalism as an ideology in a contradictory, contingent manner. The guarantee of ostensibly universal freedoms—such as the right to move without restrictions—are more accurately described as particularistic freedoms corresponding to an individual's citizenship and where this places them within the Westphalian system, and its division of sovereign power.

A political scientist and Holocaust refugee, Zolberg brings a deep and effective personal connection to his subject. He is masterful in suggesting analytical models that transcend the more narrowly defined topical concerns of different historical eras. He takes a political theorist's approach to the question of how liberal democracies address a fundamental paradox: ensuring the freedom of movement of their own people, goods, and ideas, while at the same time managing concerns about the freedoms of outsiders who might disrupt economic or cultural privileges of the native population. Zolberg's identification of the United States as "a nation by design" is not a claim for American exceptionalism. All nations resort to a wide range of different tools to orchestrate the composition of their population. The United States is different because it has a long history of attracting immigrants from all corners of the globe. "Immigration policy not only emerged as a major instrument of American nation-building," Zolberg writes, "but also fostered the notion that the nation could be designed, stimulating the elevation of that belief into an article of national faith" (p. 2).

Zolberg asks: "Whereas 'nativism' is credible as an expression of frustration, what sort of stance would be 'normal'?" (p. 7). The tension between "political economy" and "identity politics" has been a constant in debates about American immigration policy, according to Zolberg, and the two poles that give coherence to a policy history with myriad variable factors. Globalization in the second half of the nineteenth century, and unprecedented access to mobility brought on by massive population growth and steamship travel, meant that the United States' earlier policies of ad hoc and state-level regulations that targeted select undesirables, and exclusions that applied to Asian laborers only, invariably gave way to a complex and comprehensive taxonomy of federal restrictions in the 1920s.

Political economy, as a set of concerns that has weighed on policy decisions, encompasses the capital interests who have sought immigrants to settle new lands, open new markets, and fuel the labor power needs of industrialism. Today, Zolberg argues, immigration policy specifically favors the immigration and economic benefits attached to skilled, white-collar workers such as scientists, doctors, and engineers. While the demand for laborers to staff an agricultural and service-sector proletariat has not abated, many of these new workers enter the country as undocumented immigrants. Like the Mexican *braceros* recruited to come to the United States as guest workers after the passage of immigration quotas reducing the number of European immigrants allowed to enter in the 1920s, and the near total exclusion of Asian laborers accomplished by congressional legislation in 1917, the undocumented immigrants of recent years are "wanted but not welcome" (p. 436).[2] On the other hand, political economy has also guided the attempted interventions of advocates for restriction. In the early twentieth century, for example, organized labor and Anglo-Saxon nativists represented an earlier pairing of strange bedfellows. Organized labor argued that newly arrived immigrant laborers from Eastern and Southern Europe would damage the nation's economy as strikebreakers, while nativists alleged that these groups contained anarchists and socialists who would introduce foreign forms of agitation.

If political economy provides one epistemological frame for evaluating how policy actors have measured the perceived benefits or detriments of immigration to the United States, "identity politics" offers the other constant. Zolberg argues that "all types of immigrants—including even temporary workers—also constitute a political and cultural presence, which evokes a distinctive dimension of consideration pertaining to the putative impact of immigration on the host country's 'way of life,' 'cohesiveness,' or, in current discourse, 'identity'" (p. 16). Zolberg acknowledges that political economy and identity politics are not mutually exclusive concerns and

frequently overlap. The racialized "culture" of Chinese laborers, for example, purportedly made them a threat to California trade unions in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century. As Samuel Gompers and Hermann Gutstadt asserted in a widely circulated manifesto issued by the America Federation of Labor at the start of the twentieth century, Chinese laborers were willing to tolerate lower wages and less humane working conditions because they could allegedly subsist on rice and live in unadorned, disease-ridden cellars—unlike the white workingman who needed meat and a proper home to house his family.[3] Still, as Zolberg points out, the tension between political economy interests and identity politics' interests can manifest in odd ways. Today, Americans of the libertarian stripe and those who identify as social conservatives often find themselves moving in different directions on immigration issues, largely because members of the former group believe that the market will control immigration naturally, while the latter group—following Samuel Huntington's dire warning—believes that a "clash of civilizations" threatens to destroy essential American values.[4]

In recent years, historians, sociologists, and anthropologists have challenged whether the concept of immigration unfairly elevates the nation as the arbiter of what forms of human movement "matter."[5] Zolberg is certainly interested in these questions as well. An exclusive focus on immigration, for instance, fails to account for internal migration within a sovereign territory. In the United States, any attempt to make sense of the impact of quotas on European immigrants that followed the First World War is incomplete without addressing the "Great Migration" of blacks from the South (and the Caribbean) to industrial centers in the North. The displacement and violent removal of American Indians from lands marked for white settlement was impossible without inducements designed to attract migrants (many of whom, after the American Revolution, could also be classified as immigrants). Slavery was an issue of coerced or involuntary human migration, first within the British Empire, and then across national borders. After the abolition of the slave trade in 1808, it is not a stretch to label efforts to smuggle slaves into the United States as the first instances of illegal immigration.[6] Efforts to colonize Africa with freed slaves, and to simultaneously eliminate the "Negro problem" as Thomas Jefferson called it, represent an early American emigration policy. By contemplating design's numerous historical dimensions, Zolberg demonstrates that immigration policy did not operate in a vacuum, but was only one part of the formula.

Zolberg also reveals how immigration policy necessitated the development of state capacity—not just in terms of border control, processing stations such as Ellis Island and Angel Island, and in the creation of an administrative bureaucracy—but also in terms of "remote control," a facet of immigration policy that he convincingly argues has been neglected. As early as 1819, Congress passed a law requiring foreign vessels arriving in the United States to limit the amount of passengers entering the country at a ratio of two per five tons of registry, while also providing a manifest of the names of those who wished to enter. Thus was the first of many acts that shifted the burden of policing immigration into the United States onto private interests, such as passenger ship companies—who were eventually required to bear the return costs of immigrants deemed ineligible for entry—and to foreign sites. Today, all immigrants wishing to enter the United States first stake their claim to be allowed to legally enter at American embassies and consulates abroad, where they are issued visas and other required documents. These are the first foreign shores—located in their country of departure—they encounter.

Zolberg, unlike some of his more radical colleagues, argues that as a nation-state, the United States possesses not only the power to attempt to keep unwanted migrants out, but a legitimate imperative to do so as well.[7] "While the erection of barriers against unlimited immigration is warranted as a realistic compromise," Zolberg is adamant, however, that "the legitimacy of this position is conditional on its linkage with other commitments: as a long-term objective, the affluent democracies must help potential emigrants to live in their own country, and this in turn requires the availability of 'bread and peace,' sustainable development and trade, as well as respect of

human rights and negotiated solutions to domestic and international conflicts" (p. 457). Zolberg suggests that open borders are not intrinsically disastrous for the more affluent receiving country that bears the impact of an increased population, but this is speculation more than anything else, since as a policy realist, he is reluctant to entertain that the removal of restrictions on migration is a possibility in the near future.[8] What Zolberg advocates instead is what he calls the "Melville Principle." In his semi-autobiographical 1849 novel *Redburn: His First Voyage*, Herman Melville's narrator defends the right of the famine-affected Irish to come to the United States, forcefully asserting that "the whole world is the patrimony of the whole world" (p. 455).[9] As Zolberg interprets, "the 'Melville principle' suggests that the strict confinement of individuals to membership in the states under whose jurisdiction they happened to be born negates their being as members of a common species, and concomitantly imbues the states in question with an aura of 'naturalness' that obfuscates their reality as historical constructs" (p. 456). Without turning to trite declarations that we are all "citizens of the world," it is still possible, Zolberg argues, to convince Americans that the liberal world order they strive for in many other contexts cannot be accomplished with rigid policies severely limiting human mobility.

Zolberg's brief literary turn appears as a pleasant surprise, since one of the major divides within scholarship on immigration continues to be the lack of dialogue between those who focus on the cultural history of immigration, and those who examine legal and policy dimensions. Citizenship, with its multivalent function, perhaps offers one arena for bridging this divide. Whereas procedures for immigrating and naturalizing represent formal state policies, citizenship is not neatly bounded by the rule of law. Citizenship is invariably defined by cultural claims that follow racial, gendered, and economic lines, which further vest or deny individuals and groups with the benefits of full membership in a society.[10]

Esther Romeyn's *Street Scenes* details how urban life in New York at the turn of the twentieth century produced popular obsessions over the authenticity of immigrant performances and what the author describes as the "staging of self." In Romeyn's analysis, performances take place not only where we would expect them to, on the stages of the Yiddish and Italian vaudeville theaters, for instance, but also in Chinatown opium dens and on tenement stoops, where "authenticity" was simultaneously produced for the social consumption of cultural insiders and outsiders. Heavily influenced by the theoretical inquiries posited in Walter Benjamin's unfinished *Arcades Project* and James Clifford's *The Predicament of Culture*, Romeyn writes that

> ever since its transformation into a modernist, immigrant metropolis, New York City has posed a challenge to interpretation. It defeats organicist, holistic interpretations of culture, identity, and continuity. New York exposes the fact that space and identities are never given and static, not "simply received from tradition, language or environment," that they imply "processes rather than essences," that such processes are relational and open-ended rather than predetermined, and that they involve "the interweaving of expression and imprint," and their difference. (xi)[11]

If the basic incomprehensibility of the urban landscape has become a widely accepted tenet among scholars challenging modernist attempts to "know" the city as a whole, as Romeyn documents, there are still plenty of urban actors worth learning about. Romeyn attempts to uncover how the "heterogeneous cityscape" (p. 5) was negotiated through a system of codes and signs that provided a constantly shifting urban typology. Although she addresses the oft-cited accounts of reformers and "professional" slummers who presented the city to their bourgeois peers, Romeyn also introduces readers to lesser-known works such as Bernardino Ciambelli's Italian-language *I Misteri di Mulberry Stritto* (*The Mysteries of Mulberry Street*, 1893) and the Yiddish-langauge *Di Shvartse Khevre (The Black Gang*, 1900). In these novels, immigrant protagonists

learn to make sense of the city, and not the "detached, professional urban spectator, who subjects the entire city to his incriminating, cold panoptic gaze" (p. 18). They prove their mettle by avoiding the dangers of urban life and by resisting the moral temptations that stand around every corner. At the same time, as Romeyn notes, they showed that "moral convictions, shared traditions, lasting loyalties, and, most important, blood ties" (p. 24) were social values present in the immigrant "colonies" as well, and discursive tools that immigrants could use to claim a more respectable identity and citizenship.[12]

Romeyn contends that New York's middle class believed the ability to pass—racially or economically—was a skill that they possessed exclusively. As the argument went, whereas the bourgeoisie could switch between public and private faces, the urban poor had no choice but to expose their authentic selves. Of course, there were constant ruptures within this claim. Romeyn shares, for example, an anecdote that Jacob Riis told about how a "tramp," after agreeing to sit for a picture in exchange for ten cents, upped the price of his labor to a quarter when he added a pipe to his staged portrait. Riis was annoyed by the encounter, not because the "tramp" was pressing him for more money but because he had shown an "awareness of being constructed by Riis as a type, and as such he is incomplete without his props" (p. 56). Leong Lee Lin, or William Leon, the Chinese waiter accused of murdering Elsie Sigel, the daughter of a wealthy New York couple who had also worked as a missionary, sparked hysterical anger among the city's white residents not only because of the crime he allegedly committed but because he again defied type.[13] Leon was simultaneously a deferent missionary student and an urban hustler and ladies' man. Reformers concluded that immigrant shape-shifting could only be used for ill-gains, whereas the professional reformer used duplicitous identities to infiltrate slums and reveal vice, thereby enacting positive changes.

While native-born American audiences had trouble viewing immigrant and working-class performances as anything but the manifestation of their authentic yet typically problematic cultures, Romeyn makes the argument that immigrant audiences were much more attuned to how identity itself was negotiated in these spaces, and how, as Walter Benn Michaels notes, character was itself a speculative commodity. In a capitalist society, immigrants anticipated how to maximize returns on the presentation of different identities and selves. Eddie Cantor, born Edward Israel Iskowitz, the son of Russian Jewish immigrants, embodied this market savvy. Cantor explained, "Drifting as I did into every conceivable crowd, I trained myself to the fact that 'the audience is never wrong,' and if a performance failed to go across it was either the fault of the material or the manner of presentation" (p. 131).[14] Immigrants were adept at mocking themselves and policing the boundaries of speculation, performance, and passing as well; one was neither to cling too steadfastly to the old world, nor to abandon it too rapidly. As the twentieth century continued, Romeyn notes that ethnic organizations increasingly spoke out against ethnic humor. Responding to popular beliefs about racial evolution, the ethnic bourgeoisie worried that crass ethnic humor would be perceived as evidence that certain negative and disreputable cultural traits existed beyond reform and assimilation.

In some respects, Romeyn's conclusions are as ambiguous as the characters she takes on. Cultural pastiche was appealing to those seeking to escape essentialized racial and class identities, yet for many performers this constant dissemblance was also exhausting and psychologically taxing. In *A New Language, A New World*, Nancy Carnevale takes up similar themes, by positing her study as one that seeks to understand the psychological effects of "linguistic subordination" (p. 8) on Italian immigrants who came to the United States during the first half of the twentieth century. Early on, Carnevale makes the provocative claim that "language may be a more salient feature of ethnic identity than color, contrary to the American presumption that race trumps all other categories of identity" (p. 11). This claim is muted and qualified, however, by Carnevale's own diligent examination of how Southern Italians brought with them to the United

States a type of racialized stigma first fostered in Europe, where the region was seen as occupying a racially liminal position between that continent and Africa. The dialects that Southern Italians spoke included much more variety than the dialects of Northern Italy, and were seen as farther away from the national language: an adaptation of the fourteenth-century literary Florentine dialect that Dante Alighieri employed. While race scientists of the era did not view language as an innate racial characteristic, vulgar dialects were cited as evidence—like Romeyn's ethnic jokes—that a group's culture had failed to evolve into a more refined form.

Carnevale complicates the relationship of language to theories of straight-line assimilation. Scholars have tended to view the United States as a "graveyard of languages" (p. 8) other than English, and have left it at that. While Italian immigrants and their descendants eventually came to speak English as well, they were Americanized in a circuitous fashion that began first with their exposure to the standard version of Italian that had only become an official, national language in the 1860s. The wild variations within the different Italian dialects are illustrated by Carnevale in empirical fashion. Whereas "*A gatta pe' gghji' 'e pressa, facette 'e figlie cecate*" means "in order to finish quickly, the cat makes blind kittens" in the Neapolitan dialect, in standard Italian the sentence would appear as "*La gatta per fare presto fece i figli ciechi*" (p. 33). Because so many Southern Italian immigrants could not read or write in standard Italian, a unique, creolized Italian American dialect emerged in the United States, and was further hybridized with Irish accents on spoken phrases and words, a modified Yiddish vocabulary (*vorche* for "work," for instance), and English-inspired neologisms.

Carnevale and Romeyn overlap in their focus on Eduardo Migliaccio, the Neapolitan immigrant and comic artist known as "Farfariello," or the "Little Butterfly." In *Street Scenes*, Migliaccio's performances hinge "on the interstices of two cultures, in the confrontation between the mores and values of the Old World and the New" (p. 102). Carnevale does not stray too far from this analysis. Migliaccio's skits and sketches were developed in a café on Mulberry Street where he sat observing the Italian immigrants who frequented the place, and, as Carnevale demonstrates, "relied on confusions of language for their punch" (p. 114). The Italian immigrant's inability to master American class signifiers, gender relations, and expressions of acculturation are all mocked in Farfariello's work, yet mocked with a knowing, gentle touch. In the Italian American idiom that Migliaccio's characters used, Italian immigrants saw their own chaotic, disrupted world, from a fellow ethnic who understood their plight. When such performances were repackaged for an American mainstream audience, through radio, or when performers like the Irish American Rosemary Clooney popularized and caricatured dialect in songs such as "Mambo Italiano," nuance was lost, as was the insider ethnic understanding that such acts were initially meant to communicate.

Carnevale examines how language discrimination worked in concert with other forms of marginalization. This was perhaps most notable at the trial of Sacco and Vanzetti when Joseph Ross (born Giuseppe Rossi) was accused by the defense of being a corrupt court translator, who purposely manipulated the task before him in order to serve the prosecution. Using records from New York City's Municipal Court, Carnevale demonstrates that even in cases where confusion was not orchestrated, "more subtle issues of translation plagued the immigrant in the courtroom as well" (p. 91). Interpreters might not know the Italian dialect that a defendant spoke, or lack fluency in specific idiomatic expressions. Given the deep-seated linguistic alienation that many Italian immigrants experienced, it is perhaps unsurprising that they and second-generation Italian Americans supported the efforts of Mussolini's Fascist regime in the 1920s and 1930s to fund Italian-language education in the United States. Even when Mussolini and Italy became the enemy of the United States during the Second World War, the government grappled with whether it ought to eradicate Italian-language usage as a way of suppressing treasonous expression or whether it should use Italian to reach ethnic Italians and further bring them into the fold.

Alongside more specific interventions, *A New Language, A New World* historicizes tolerance for linguistic diversity in the United States. Linguistic nativism has waxed and waned in a manner, Carnevale notes, that has not necessarily corresponded to cultural nativism more generally. At the start of the twentieth century, American reformers and social workers understood English language acquisition as an end goal that could be accomplished using a variety of strategies. For example, in the 1920s, Public School 62 in New York City sponsored a program where second-generation children were charged with the task of conducting fifteen minutes of English-language education with their parents nightly. This episode, and others that Carnevale discusses, suggests that bilingualism was once seen as compatible with the goals of assimilation. Of course, in today's political environment, it is difficult in many parts of the country to generate any enthusiasm over the benefits of tolerating languages other than English. Following Carnevale's probing questions about the psychological impact of linguistic assimilation on immigrants, it would be fascinating to flip the focus and delve into the psychological mindset of the "English only" drum-beater.

Jordan Stanger-Ross's *Staying Italian* provides the quantified experiences and, to a somewhat lesser extent, the stories of white urban ethnics in the last half of the twentieth century. Stanger-Ross cautions against making "white flight" the most salient or only feature of postwar white ethnic history in the United States. To make sense of the persistence of white ethnicity in Philadelphia, Stanger-Ross devotes comparative attention to the meaning of Italian ethnicity in postwar Toronto, concentrating on the Little Italy area of that city. This comparison allows Stanger-Ross to highlight how Canada's different racial politics, demography, and urban development allowed for alternative constructions of white ethnicity that were stifled in the United States. As he acknowledges, he is indebted to Samuel L. Baily's study of Italian immigration to Buenos Aires and New York at the turn of the century, and Baily's focus on how the "structurally defined stage" of different national laws and cultures informed these two immigrant experiences.[15]

Stanger-Ross emphasizes that for residents of South Philadelphia, their Italian American ethnicity was not simply symbolic or voluntary, but embedded in day-to-day experiences and practices.[16] Italian Americans (and South Philadelphians) enacted their ethnicity in ways that mapped cultural ties onto the physical and material landscape, through the medium of the Catholic Church, which organized spiritual as well as social life. Stanger-Ross demonstrates through his analysis that the main point of distinction between Toronto and Philadelphia is that ethnicity, as practiced in Toronto, did not have the same tight, geographic constraints that it did in South Philadelphia. A vibrant postwar housing market in Toronto made the sale and resale of homes among Italian Canadian coethnics a crucial economic strategy for facilitating upward social mobility. These sales, in contrast to the situation in South Philadelphia, were not confined to a strictly limited geographic territory. Toronto's extensive and well-integrated public transportation system along with its regional urban planning initiatives, encouraged residents to resist thinking about their place in the city in territorial ways, and created an urban consciousness that Stanger-Ross argues made residents think that the whole of metro Toronto as open to anyone, even if ethnic connections created specific networks within this larger space. In addition, the Italian community in Toronto was composed of postwar immigrants who arrived with the expectation that mobility would continue to factor into their lives; by contrast, South Philadelphia's Italian community was farther removed from their parents' and grandparents' immigration, and fostered an ethnic identity that emphasized the community as a rooted, spatially fixed entity. Little Italy in Toronto functioned as a gathering place where Italian ethnics, dispersed across the city, could return to eat, worship, and socialize, in the process celebrating the neighborhood's symbolic place as the first settlement. In Toronto, as Stanger-Ross notes, the streets of Little Italy

hosted both Portuguese and Italian festivals at different times of the year, giving the area a layered and fluid meaning that was unthinkable in South Philadelphia.

Stanger-Ross points out that the Italian Catholic Church in South Philadelphia—he focuses on the Annunciation and St. Thomas Parishes that straddle Broad Street south of Washington Avenue—came to occupy an ambiguous position by the 1970s and 1980s. The schools run by St. Thomas, for example, could no longer rely on an aging Italian American population to provide a sufficient student body, and increasingly enrolled black and Asian non-Catholic students. Incorporation into the culture of the neighborhood, which also included allowing black and Asian American students to participate in street festivals, did not eliminate the sense that those same nonwhite groups were "invading." As Stanger-Ross writes, "If the meaning of territorialism varied—sometimes characterized by defense of boundaries and sometimes by the inclusion of all those within the parish sphere—they nonetheless shared a logic that set parts of the city apart from one another. Organizers and participants in the *Festa Italiana* procession understood St. Thomas as a neighborhood institution, one that served those within the lines drawn on Archdiocesan maps" (p. 73).

Staying Italian employs a creative range of sources. Stanger-Ross uses tax assessments, parish marriage records, and ethnic advertisements placed in community newspapers, among other sources, in order to map manifestations of Italian ethnicity across Philadelphia and Toronto. The book brims with maps that document procession routes, the addresses of grooms who appear in parish records, home sales, and so on. To his credit, Stanger-Ross complements his quantitative data with oral histories that he both conducted and found in existing archives. At times, he could have analyzed such qualitative impressions of ethnicity with a more critical eye. For example, Stanger-Ross largely ignores how normative ethnic expectations disciplined individuals and structured the boundaries of the identity that they were expected to perform, and this absence is especially notable around issues of gendered courtship and acceptable forms of intimacy. While Stanger-Ross interprets ethnicity as a set of practices that can be quantified, just because Italian Americans in South Philadelphia overwhelmingly married coethnics, this does not necessarily mean they wanted to.

Collectively, these books demonstrate the difficulty of isolating the study of immigration, and subsequent cultural and economic impacts on urban areas, to any one realm of academic inquiry. The implementation of any federal immigration policy, to borrow from Romeyn's subtitle, represents the public staging of the national self, and the display of the nation's racial, class, linguistic, and other biases, as well as its strategies for reproducing its ideal version in the future. That nations practice their own identity politics, as Zolberg points out, through attempts to police or restrict language usage, or through urban planning that encourages or discourages ethnic and racial territoriality, should be a point that academics never hesitate to publicize; especially when current policy debates continue to address immigration as an issue that does not have a cultural and racial background but revolves instead around issues of legality and illegality. Although it has been a touted cliché for some time, there is still a need for those who focus on the political and economic dimensions of immigration history to reach out to those engaged in its cultural history, and vice versa of course. All four of these books represent possible models, each unique in its own right, yet gesturing to this common end.

Notes

1. Annie Sovcok, Human Rights First, "Immigration Incarceration" (panel discussion at Immigrant Detainees: Alone, Unrepresented & Imprisoned, Rutgers-Newark Center for Law & Justice, March 23, 2012). For an analysis of how contemporary detention policies relate to yet also depart from past efforts at immigration control, see Erika Lee and Judy Yung, *Angel Island: Immigrant Gateway to America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 315–25.

2. As is the case with other sections of *A Nation by Design*, Zolberg first developed this concept in an earlier article. See Zolberg, "Wanted but Not Welcome: Alien Labor in Western Development," in *Population in an Interacting World*, ed. William Alonso (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), 36–74.
3. Samuel Gompers and Hermann Gutstadt, *Some Reasons for Chinese Exclusion; Meat vs. Rice; American manhood against Asiatic coolieism, which shall survive?* (San Francisco: Govt Printing Office, 1902).
4. Zolberg does not mince words when it comes to attacking what he describes as the "unimaginative revival of ancient nativist stereotypes," of which Huntington's "inanities" are representative (p. 437).
5. See, e.g., Donna Gabaccia, "Is Everywhere Nowhere? Nomads, Nations, and the Immigrant Paradigm of United States History," *Journal of American History* 86 (1999): 1115–34; and, for world history told through migration, Patrick Manning, *Migration in World History* (New York: Routledge, 2005). This is not to deny that states are still the most important governmental regimes when it comes to determining and policing borders. Others have sought to connect human migration to the study of mobility more generally, and the movement of goods, ideas, and humans in everyday contexts. See, e.g., MOVE, https://sites.google.com/site/movenetworkch/ (accessed March 24, 2012) and the new journal *Transfers*, http://journals.berghahnbooks.com/trans/ (accessed March 24, 2012).
6. As Moon-Ho Jung argues, the 1862 "Act to prohibit the 'Coolie Trade,'" in which Congress barred American vessels and citizens from transporting Chinese "coolies," can be read as both the final law restricting the slave trade and the first federal immigration law. Jung, *Coolies and Cane: Race, Labor, and Sugar in the Age of Emancipation* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006), 11–38.
7. This would include, perhaps most prominently, Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri's *Empire* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000).
8. To this end, Zolberg cites Bob Hamilton and John Walley, "Efficiency and Distributional Implications of Global Restrictions on Labour Mobility: Calculations and Policy Implications," *Journal of Development Economics* 14 (1984): 61–75. For studies that emphasize more open borders as a moral rather than an economic question, see Brian Barry and Robert E. Goodin, eds., *Free Movement* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992); and Seyla Benhabib, *The Rights of Others: Aliens, Residents, and Citizens* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004).
9. Herman Melville, *Redburn* (Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin Books, 1976), 382.
10. For a sociological overview of how citizenship has intersected with race, class, and gender in the United States, see Evelyn Nakano Glenn, *Unequal Freedom: How Race and Gender Shaped American Citizenship and Labor* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002).
11. Romeyn cites here from Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988), 274–75; the quote "the interweaving of expression and imprint" comes from Rainer Nägele, *Theater, Theory, Speculation: Walter Benjamin and the Scenes of Modernity* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), 107.
12. Romeyn fails to note that as was often the case in the urban American cultural landscape, Irish immigrant literature preceded similarly themed works by other European immigrant groups. Writing in the 1850s and 1860s, for instance, Mary Anne Sadlier documented the day-to-day experiences of city dwellers and the complex terrain of urban existence that they had to navigate, while offering the didactic message that Irish immigrants could master and thrive in cities like New York without the aid of Protestant reformers. For an overview of Sadlier's work, see Charles Fanning, *The Irish Voice in America: 250 Years of Irish-American Fiction* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1999), 114–52.
13. For a lengthier treatment of Sigel's death and the racialized fears it provoked, see Mary Ting Yi Lui, *The Chinatown Trunk Mystery: Murder, Miscegenation, and Other Dangerous Encounters in Turn-of-the-Century New York City* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005).
14. Walter Benn Michaels, *The Gold Standard and the Logic of Naturalism: American Literature at the Turn of the Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987). Romeyn cites Cantor's anecdote

from Robert Snyder, *The Voice of the City: Vaudeville and Popular Culture in New York* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 109.

15. Samuel L. Baily, *Immigrants in the Lands of Promise: Italians in Buenos Aires and New York City, 1870-1914* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999), 12.
16. The literature that Stanger-Ross specifically references in this regard includes Mary C. Waters, *Ethnic Options: Choosing Identities in America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990); Richard Alba, *Italian Americans: Into the Twilight of Ethnicity* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1985); and Herbert Gans, "Symbolic Ethnicity: The Future of Ethnic Groups and Cultures in America," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 2 (1979): 1–20.

Author Biography

Andrew Urban is an Assistant Professor in the American Studies and History departments at Rutgers University, New Brunswick. His forthcoming book, *The Empire of the Home: Race, Domestic Labor, and the Political Economy of Servitude in the United States, 1850-1920* (NYU Press, 2015), examines the employment of African Americans, Asian immigrants, and European immigrants as domestic servants, and explores how public and state attitudes concerning the freedom of mobility and contract governed an occupation that was stigmatized in the minds of native-born, white Americans. In addition to his work on immigration, race, gender, and labor, he is currently a member of the Guantánamo Public Memory Project, a coalition of faculty and students at eleven universities engaged in collaboratively curating a traveling museum exhibition on the layered histories of the US Naval Base at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba.